NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
10 cents
VOL. 9, No. 20 NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 4, 1957

WHAT WASHINGTON'S UP TO

Headline diplomacy on Israel hides war on neutralism

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS

AS THE 11TH SESSION of the UN General Assembly neared recess or adjournment, all attention was focused on the crisis created by Israel's failure to withdraw from Egypt. If Washington, too, appeared preoccupied with this question, the appearance was somewhat deceptive. For its "headline diplomacy" regarding Israel (as James Reston termed it in the N.Y. **Times**) tended to obscure more important moves: its strong advance on many fronts against the neutralism of Egypt and Syria.

With time running out at the UN and Afro-Asian resentment growing, Washington appeared to threaten sanctions against Israel. The threat, however, existed almost exclusively in the headlines. In his address to the nation, Feb. 20, the President suggested only the possibility of "pressures." His failure to mention sanctions indicated to many at UN that the U.S. opposed them. Reston reported (**Times**, 2/20) that Senators and the Israeli Embassy know "the Administration is not thinking of doing anything more than putting moral pressure on Tel Aviv."

ACES FOR ISRAEL: The headline campaign seemed designed to extricate the U.S. from what the Washington **Post** called its "excruciating dilemma". If the U.S. were to give all out backing to UN efforts to secure Israel's compliance with UN resolutions, it would face political storms at home, new strains in the western alliance, and it would lose a means of pressure upon Egypt. On the other hand, failure to back these efforts strongly will undermine its policy of drawing the Afro-Asian nations into its orbit. Hence the press campaign to persuade these nations that the U.S. is prepared to "get tough" with Israel.

Behind this screen, however, Washington had given Israel what one Administration source called "assurances which place a heavy responsibility on this government. If they agree to pull back, they will be in a stronger position than they have ever been and we will be committed to backing up these assurances. We've given them a handful of aces if they'd only realize it" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 2/23).

There were indications that the Administration, if not actually encouraging, was certainly not strongly opposing Israel's policy of playing for time. This

(Continued on Page 9)

This is no laughing matter

A little girl (who rates page one just for being nice to look at) holds three brand new hyenas at the Duisberg zoo in Germany. The hyenas rate the girl's attentions not only because they're cuddly but because they are being mothered by a nice broad-minded, if low-slung, dachshund.

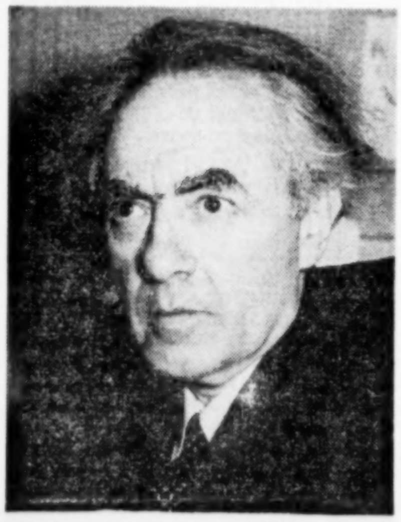
CONGRESS COULDN'T WAIT

Un-Americans challenged by Nathan and Miller

By Lawrence Emery

ALTHOUGH A KEY CASE which might finally set limits to the power and authority of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is now pending before the Supreme Court, the Justice Dept., without waiting for a possible decisive ruling, obtained indictments against Arthur Miller and Dr. Otto Nathan for contempt of Congress on Feb. 18. Both had declined on principle to answer Committee questions about their personal beliefs and associations last June.

Dr. Nathan, associate professor at New York University, is internationally respected as a top-flight economist and has gained additional world-renown as the executor of the estate of Albert Einstein, this century's greatest scientist. Miller is America's best-known playwright.



DR. OTTO NATHAN
Will Rep. Walter accept?

CHALLENGE TO COMMITTEE: Dr. Nathan based his refusal to answer on the First Amendment guarantee of free speech and assembly and challenged the authority of the Committee to inquire into his beliefs and associations. In a statement following his indictment, he said:

"I also refused to surrender to the Committee the passport which I had obtained after a two-and-a-half year controversy and litigation and which was issued to me by order of a U.S. Court. In doing so, I challenged the high-handed attitude of the Un-American Committee in attempting to seize passports which is unlawful and a usurpation of power.

"The indictment will give me an opportunity to bring the fight for the freedom of speech and for the freedom of conscience before the American public. This fight was never more necessary and more essential than now. I shall consider it an honor and a duty to vindicate my position in our Courts and, if necessary, to fight the matter through to the Supreme Court.

"The indictment will also give me an opportunity to test the veracity of Congressman Francis E. Walter, the Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee. At hearings of the Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee of which Mr. Walter is also Chairman—hearings at which I was not present—Congressman Walter made utterly defamatory and false statements about me without making any attempt to ascertain the true facts and without giving me an opportunity to take issue with him at the hearings before the Un-American Committee. I hereby make the public request that Congressman Walter repeat those derogatory remarks about me outside the Halls of Congress to make it

(Continued on Page 5)

HOLLYWOOD EX-PRODUCER

U. S. names its sole witness in new 'spy conspiracy' case

THE GOVERNMENT last week revealed the only witness—aside from technical experts—it presently plans to call in the trial of Jack and Myra Soble and Jacob Albam, charged with conspiracy to deliver U.S. defense secrets to the Soviet Union.

He is Boris Morros, 62, film producer and director, who, the government will contend, received from the three defendants the data as yet referred to only vaguely as "a slip of paper" or "several sheets of paper with writing thereon." On Morros' testimony the government will seek a conviction which could mean the death sentence.

Born in Russia, Morros was a child prodigy and at the age of 18 was placed in charge of musical events at the Czar's palace. He produced musical shows in Europe and came to the U.S. in 1922. Shortly afterward he was naturalized. For 20 years he headed the music department of Paramount Pictures, then became a producer and is credited with a Laurel and Hardy comedy, "Flying Deuces", "Carnegie Hall" and "Second Chorus," starring Fred Astaire.

UNDER WRAPS: For the last six years he has been living abroad. His daughter-in-law, Mrs. Richard B. Morros, said he has returned to the U.S. for only "occasional visits". The indictment, however, indicated that Soble met with an "individual" now identified as Morros in New York in 1952, 1954 and 1956.

Mrs. Morros said she did not know when her father-in-law was expected to return from abroad, but the government gave his address as "The United States

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NOTICE

This month another large class of subscriptions falls due for renewal. If your address label reads March '57 or earlier your sub is in this category. It would be extremely helpful if you renewed NOW.

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THE MAIL BAG

Devolution

MEDFORD, ORE.

The atomic war had killed every person on earth excepting one man. He took his airplane and flew to Africa, landing near a jungle. He got out and fastened this note on his plane: "I am the last man on earth. I am now going into the jungle, and lose myself. I am never coming back."

Two monkeys up in a tree nearby were watching. Cautiously approaching the airplane, they read the note. Then said one monkey to the other, "Do we have to start this damn thing all over again?"

Edward C. Root

Others pay cash

QUATSINO, B.C.

Your country, with much thumping of its chest, claims to be a Christian country. Unless I am very much mistaken on what Christianity is supposed to be, I can't see any evidence of it. I don't want some individual pointing out your churches or the fact that on your money it says "In God We trust."

Let's have some Christianity in practice and less talk about it or the very word "Christian" will soon become synonymous with hypocrisy.

J. Donaldson

Slogan

CHICAGO, ILL.

Suggest the slogan: The only power vacuum in the Middle East is Socony Vacuum.

Leroy Wolins

Own backyard

BRAINERD, MINN.

Since the Russian revolution against despotism in 1917, that nation has been blamed for all the mistakes and misfortune that imperialism has encountered. While voluminous accusations might serve powerful interests here, it is quite obvious that they are not substantiated by facts. The aggressors in the past have always been financial dictators who have enslaved the inhabitants of small, undeveloped nations and robbed them of the natural resources. The U.S.S.R. is not guilty of such degradation.

In cleaning up our own back yard we would find that American soldiers were used to invade Siberia in 1919. We have encircled the U.S.S.R. with a number of bombing bases which could be used to destroy that nation in a very short period of time. Subversive groups have distributed questionable propaganda in Hungary, Poland and other bordering nations which still seethe with fascism and who have fought against the U.S.S.R. American arms were also used to invade China, Korea, Greece and Indonesia. Is it not about time that citizens should write to Congress and demand the abolition of all wars? We have a dirty mess here in the U. S. to clear up—let us start by insisting on our civil rights, federal health insurance and an adequate federal old age pension granted as a universal right to all over 60 years of age.

Robert Sherlie

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"The graduated tax provisions of the income tax laws are a direct application of that clause in the Communist Manifesto which aims at the confiscation of all property through the use of just such a tax."—NAM President Ernest G. Swigert.

Michigan Investor, Feb. 9.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: H. S., Brooklyn, N. Y. Be sure to send original slip with each entry.

Reserves judgment

TORONTO, CANADA.

I can't let Russell W. Gibbons' letter (criticizing U.S.S.R. in E. Europe) go without comment, especially as I felt the same way when the trouble started in Hungary.

Then when the capitalist countries went overboard offering the "refugees" free passage, jobs, free medical care, etc., I realized that something wasn't right. I'm therefore reserving judgment until I know all the facts.

Mrs. R. Berke

Inhuman conspirators

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Taking the perjury guilt of Elitcher and the uranium theft of David Greenglass as a base or foundation and using the normal sequential contacts of the latter two with Rosenberg and Sobell as building material and in turn the evidence permissible in a federal court under legal conspiracy as the cementing substance, a prosecution structure was carefully planned by the Dept. of Justice and erected under the watchful eyes of the superintendent of operations, the honorable judge. And a good and faithful superintendent he was, watching the rickety structure with trained eyes, using his judicial power to add a prop here, fill up a crack there, but always saving it from very imminent collapse.

I advise trying an examination of the evidence and the conduct of the prosecution and judge with a viewpoint as outlined, and not a single puzzling circumstance or inexplicable affirmation or denial will appear. The resulting picture is stereotyped and unimaginative to be sure, but clear and complete.

Korea at that moment (and for the present) was a flop. They were not only being kicked out of one of the back doors of their own "colonial" mansion, but dispossess proceedings and final foreclosure were staring them in the face Some little explanation had to be found, and weak and unconvincing as it seems, this comic opera version of atomic espionage was the best they could concoct.

Having read the Wexley book and Prof. Sharp's analysis, and pondering the heartbreaking strivings of the Sobell Committee. I cannot help but wonder now as I have many times before, whether anything short of the complete exposure of the true nature of this frame-up, calling a spade a spade and identifying the grave-diggers, will salvage anything from this judicial wreck To my mind it is mere fanciful wishing if in the struggle to clear the name of the Rosenbergs and obtain the freedom of Sobell, there is any anticipation of leniency, contriteness or reprieve as long as these misanthropic and inhuman conspirators can remain beneath their sanctimonious mask, undiscredited and even respected

A. C.

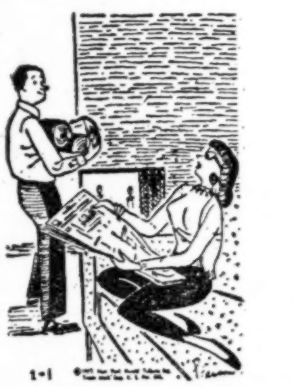
"Circle of Guilt"

NEW YORK, N.Y.

This is just a line to thank you for your understanding review of my book **The Circle of Guilt.**

It may interest you that the Council of Spanish-American Societies of which Mr. Joseph Montserrat is head, which represents some 50 member organizations, is attempting to have Frank Santana pardoned by the Governor. I hope they will succeed. not only because the boy received a very rough deal, but also because his case symbolizes the legal, social and psychiatric discrimination here against Puerto Ricans.

Fredric Wertham, M.D.



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"Why do disarmament talks always end up with an increased defense budget?"

Cultural exchange

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

I am a regular reader of your magazine. I ran across an ad about the unique "Betsy Wetsy" doll. Since I'm very fond of dolls (I have a large collection of 'em) I would like to get a "Betsy Wetsy".

Perhaps you would be instrumental in having one of those dolls sent to me. In exchange I could send you some typical Russian dolls of equal value.

H. Eisman

Betsy Wetsy's on her way to Moscow. —Ed.

Welcomes refugees

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Our benevolent rulers who put all kinds of obstacles in the way of immigration show an unusual generosity for the Hungarian refugees. Of course it is not a sudden change of heart but a cold calculation to use the Hungarian refugees in intensifying the cold war.

We should have full sympathy for the Hungarian refugees as human beings and should welcome them to our land of plenty. At the same time we have to understand that the exodus of tens of thousands of people from backward countries can improve their lot only, but is not a solution for the big majority of their population which has to extricate themselves from their century-long backwardness.

Non-Hungarian refugee

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom one guinea a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $4 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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VOL. 9, No. 20   401   March 4, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

Fighting lawyers

YOU NEVER CAN TELL when you may need a lawyer—and the one meeting ground in the U.S.A. where you can't fail to find a good one is the National Lawyers Guild.

Over the Washington's Birthday weekend in New York City the Lawyers Guild held its 20th Anniversary Convention, a four-day affair with a banquet on the evening of the 23rd. The banquet was a significant success, for reasons which will follow, and the proceedings of the Convention were, in our opinion, an example for bar associations everywhere.

Here are some of the Convention proposals:

- Repeal of the Smith Act, the Subversive Activities Control Act and the Immunity Act (which forces "immunity" from incrimination on witnesses to remove the Constitutional protection of the Fifth Amendment that no one shall be required to be a witness against himself.) The Guild called for discontinuance of prosecution of the United Electrical and Mine, Mill unions under the Subversive Activities Control Act (Brownell Bill).
- Termination of the government's "ill-advised and misnamed" loyalty-security program and an end to "undesirable" discharges from armed services for political activity before induction.
- Federal registration of qualified voters with Congressional power to regulate Federal elections, as a means of ending disfranchisement of Negro and other voters principally in the South. A special resolution charged "deliberate inaction" by the Eisenhower administration in enforcing racial desegregation.
- An end to political tests of passport applicants and reversal of the State Dept. ban on reporters going to China.

LAWYERS WITH VIEWS like these are asking for trouble with the powers that be; and one of Herbert Brownell's first unofficial acts on becoming U.S. Attorney General was to announce to the American Bar Assn. that he intended to add the National Lawyers Guild to his subversive list. He hasn't succeeded yet, because the Guild started fighting in the courts at the very mention of the idea, but the smear artists have been at work on the Guild ever since.

The Guild banquet, therefore, was a significant success because a roster of most eminent guest speakers came and spoke out despite violent efforts in some of the commercial press to scare them off. Brig.-Gen. Hugh B. Hester, retired, made a whale of a speech for an end to the cold war and resumption of summit negotiation for peace. Prof. H. H. Wilson of Princeton attacked official attempts to stifle disagreement "behind a facade of pseudo-prosperity" and decried a society which spends $10 billion for advertising and only $2 billion for education.

Rep. Alfred E. Santangelo (D-N.Y.), now occupying the Congressional seat held by Vito Marcantonio for 14 years, welcomed the Convention to New York with the disclosure that he had been urged not to attend and the statement that as a Catholic and a Christian he believed people should be judged on their merits and not by guilt by association.

"The witchhunters of this day shall not burn at the stake the members of the National Lawyers Guild who are defending the right of association," he declared. "I say it is the people who are seeking to undermine our Bill of Rights who are the subversives."

TO CAP THE EVENING, the Guild's FDR Award was given to former Justice Hubert T. Delaney, the fighting Domestic Relations judge whom Mayor Wagner refused to reappoint, by Justice Dudley Sicher from the same court.

Attorney John M. Coe of Pensacola, Fla., (known to GUARDIAN readers for his many civil liberties defenses, including that of Miami attorney Leo Sheiner against disbarment for using the Fifth Amendment) is the Guild's new president, succeeding Prof. Malcolm P. Sharp of Chicago. Other officers selected are Osmond K. Fraenkel of N.Y., executive vice-president; Royal W. France of Florida and N.Y., executive secretary; Julius Cohen of N.Y., treasurer; and vice-presidents Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago; Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, New Haven; former Calif. Attorney-General Robert W. Kenny, Los Angeles; Mitchell Franklin, New Orleans; Victor B. Harris, St. Louis; Daniel G. Marshall, Los Angeles; Louis McCabe, Philadelphia; Samuel D. Menin, Denver; Judge Patrick H. O'Brien, Detroit; George Olshausen, San Francisco; Herman Wright, Houston.

This strikes us as a pretty strong legal battery. Brownell would do well to take a second look at the old maxim:

"If you can't lick 'em, join 'em."

—THE GUARDIAN

BIGGER THAN DIXON-YATES?

Private power in N.Y. gets vast hydro-electric source

By Elmer Bendiner

GOV. AVERELL HARRIMAN last week signed away the power of the St. Lawrence Seaway and set a pattern for the give-away of Niagara Falls—together one of the greatest potential sources of hydro-electric power in the nation. The waters which might have been harnessed to send electricity throughout the state and lower the monthly utility bill for millions, instead will turn the turbines largely for Reynolds Metals, the Aluminum Corp. of America, General Motors and the Niagara Mohawk Power Co.

The state will build the power houses, costing the taxpayers more than $800,000,000. The companies will buy most of that power at bargain rates. Municipally or cooperatively owned utilities will get only 16.2% of the St. Lawrence power and 13.2% of Niagara's. Public power projects in the state cannot expand under terms of the give-away and private utilities need no longer fear their competition or their use as a yardstick to measure a fair electric bill.

BEATS DIXON-YATES: The scandal, which some have called greater than Dixon-Yates, involves contracts running to the end of the century.

The water that pours over the 300-foot falls at Niagara can produce 4,000,000 kilowatts, more than all the Tennessee Valley Authority's 30 dams can yield. East of Lake Ontario the St. Lawrence drops 85 feet in a 40-mile stretch—a series of dams in this section will provide 1,880,000 kilowatts from a power plant now being built near Massena, N.Y. The celebrated Grand Coulee dam on the Columbia River in Washington, the nation's biggest, produces 1,974,000 kilowatts.

The project to tap the water of the region for its power has been linked with the more ambitious scheme of making the waterway navigable for ocean-going vessels all the way to Duluth, Minn. Both projects have been in the works for half a century. The waterway was fought by private railroad and trucking interests for years and the power project has been held up until big industrial giants could find a way to corner the strength of the waters.

The log-jam on both projects might have persisted indefinitely if Canada had not wearied of private enterprise and taken steps, under its treaty rights, to develop the waterway on its own.

BUCK-PASSING: In 1953 the House of Representatives passed the Miller Bill which would have turned all of Niagara's power over to New York State's five big utility companies. It died in the Senate. Last year the Senate passed a bill for public power development in the region. But that died in the House. The buck was passed to Albany. Thomas E. Dewey, when he was Governor, laid the groundwork for the deal, appointing as chairman of the State Power Authority Robert Moses, whose rough-riding flair for monumental deals has never disturbed the real estate interests. Gov. Harriman made other appointments to the Authority but left Moses in command.

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While the private power lobby fought expensive delaying actions in Washington and Albany, the Niagara Mohawk Power Co. was doing business quietly at the falls and ALCOA had claimed squatter's rights to a spot along the St. Lawrence at Massena.

Last June a rockslide at the Schoellkopf Power Station of Niagara Mohawk brought things to a head. The damage ran to some $100,000,000 and the company immediately saw the advantage of public over private enterprise. It offered to drop all objections to state power development of the Niagara if it could buy the power it needs at less than reasonable prices and if the contract specified that no preference would be shown in selling power to municipal or rural cooperative systems.

WHAT'S A LAW? The company demand was a direct violation of the 1931 State Power Act which ruled that ". . . . in the development of hydro-electric power . . . the project shall be considered primarily as for the benefit of the people of the state as a whole . . . Sale to and use by industry shall be a secondary purpose."

ROBERT MOSES
He packaged the deal

Moses then wrapped up a package in which more than half of all the state's hydro-power would go to private industry and another fifth to private utilities—and the Power Act's careful provision for giving first preference to the people would go out the window.

Where the landslide took place the state would build a $566,000,000 power plant. Niagara-Mohawk would get 42% of that power, 115,000 kilowatts plus whatever other power might not be contracted for. The contract would run to 1985.

ALCOA's plant at Massena, which the state had always claimed was no more than a squatter's title, would be rendered unusable when dams planned for the St. Lawrence raise the water level. To compensate ALCOA, it would get particularly favorable terms, perhaps one-fourth of what other companies pay for power in a contract running to the year 2000. It is to take 174,000 kilowatts of uninterrupted power and another 65,000 kilowatts which may be interrupted when others are using it.

Reynolds Aluminum Co., a late comer in the deal and up to now having no finger in the state, would get 200,000 kilowatts uninterrupted and another 39,000 interruptible on an agreement expiring in 1992.

SUBSIDY FOR REYNOLDS: The five-man Power Authority was originally divided 3-2 on the deal with Harriman appointees A. Thorne Hills and former Gov. Charles Poletti holding out for the Power Act's provisions giving the people first crack.

GOVERNOR HARRIMAN
He sealed the bargain

The opposition also included ex-Sen. Lehman who had fought in the Senate against the steal. Gordon Clapp, former TVA chairman, in 1955 told a Senate committee that it was "physically feasible" to bring the Niagara power over 300 miles of transmission lines to New York City "at costs that could bring great savings." Boulder Dam serves power to Los Angeles 260 miles away. Clapp said that TVA had proved the value of a public power yardstick to keep private rates in line. A yardstick would be all the more important in N.Y. where electric rates are among the highest in the country.

James C. Bonright, former chairman of the State Power Authority, said the Reynolds proposal might be justified if the rates were set high enough to furnish some surplus revenue that might make possible lower rates to small consumers like co-operative or municipally owned utilities. But, he said, the Authority had been "either unwilling or unable to take advantage of this opportunity." Under the proposed contracts, Bonright said, "what Reynolds would get is, in one sense of the term, subsidized power."

THE CLINCHER: The deal's backers said that the small consumers could never use the full power available except at peak periods. But aluminum companies require peak power around the clock so that the peak needs of other consumers could not mesh with lulls in the requirements of Reynolds or ALCOA.

Moses, steamrollering the deal through, called the opposition "crazy . . . insane . . . frivolous . . . irresponsible." Gov. Harriman was coy through most of the negotiations, publicly viewing the deal with alarm. He waited for a clinching argument from Moses. It came: The deal was called an answer to the State's unemployment problem, most acute in the northern counties.

Reynolds would be a new industry for N.Y. The hitch was that the aluminum mills are well automated and the most that Reynolds could promise to hire was 1,000. Up came new bait. General Motors agreed to build a foundry near the Reynolds and ALCOA plants. At that all official opposition folded. The Governor, Poletti and Hills announced their about-face in order to bring General Motors into the state, implying that what was good for General Motors was good for New Yorkers and perhaps better than lower electric bills.

Harlow Curtice, president of General Motors, held out only modest perspectives. He said the new plant "when in full production" would employ only "a few hundred" men.

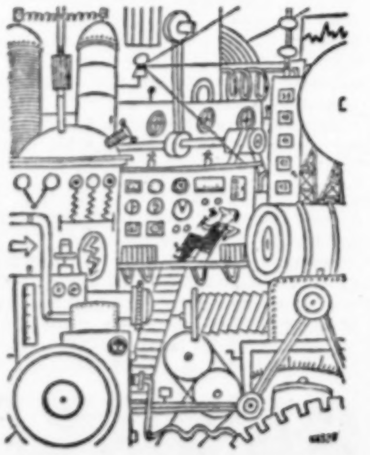
LABOR DIVIDED: The only public hearing on the deal was held Feb. 6 in Albany. One witness who testified against it told the GUARDIAN he had to wait through an hours-long "ALCOA - Reynolds - GM commercial," with charts proving that industry's profits would somehow percolate down to the consumer. Though Bernard Rifkin, educational director of the United Auto Workers, told the hearing "it was horrible to have a decision like this from an ostensible friend of labor," labor itself was divided. Supporting the give-away were the State Federation of Labor, the Building Trades and Construction Council, United Steel Workers and Utility Workers. Against it were: the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers; Amalgamated Clothing; Textile; Hat, Cap and Millinery; and the Papermakers.

Also lined up against the give-away were the State Municipal Electric Utilities Assn., the Community Councils of New York City and the Liberal Party, which called for a renewed fight when the Niagara River contracts come up for signing.

FORLORN HOPE: Last week when the Governor's signature to the St. Lawrence deal was being awaited, Frank Pear Beal, president of the Community Councils, sat in his office looking out on New York's City Hall, trying to get Mayor Wagner on the telephone. The Mayor is an honorary chairman of the Council which has fought the grab of the power barons since Franklin D. Roosevelt's time. The Mayor was in conference and unavailable.

Mr. Beal had the lingering hope that Wagner might be persuaded to sue, in the city's name, for an injunction that would stop the deal. If the Mayor declined Beal contemplated a taxpayer's suit. That would do the trick but his lawyer said it would take $5,000,000 to start suing. The state would require a bond for that much in case the suit was lost and the companies concerned claimed damages.

Mr. Beal, at the end of a fight he had waged for decades, calculated on a scrap of paper that if 10,000,000 electricity users gave 50c each, there might still be a last-ditch fight.



Drawing by Kasso, Budapest
The socialist perspective on automation.

The rehabilitation of the Russian nude

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

In a statement on the Moscow radio service beamed to Britain before the opening of the Soviet artists' congress, critic Anatoly Chlenov disclosed that "de-Stalinization" of art had already progressed as far as the rehabilitation of the nude.

Repudiating former Academy of Arts leaders who sought to enforce a "socialist realism" mainly consisting of "glorification of Stalin," Chlenov deplored the virtual liquidation of the nude from Soviet painting. Former leaders had insisted that an artist choosing so "insignificant" a subject merely showed he "had nothing to say." Said Chlenov:

"This narrow point of view has been condemned by a crushing majority of artists as hypocritical and foreign to the principles of Soviet art. The beauty of the human body, especially the body of a woman—this eternal theme of realistic art—has once again found a place in the painting of socialist realism."

NEW GOVERNMENT TACK IN T-H OATH CASES

Unionists charged with CP 'conspiracy link'

By John T. McManus

AL FISHER is a lumberjack in the State of Washington, a member and one-time president of Local 23-93, International Woodworkers of America. Like officials of most U.S. unions since 1947, Fisher signed non-Communist affidavits annually as a local union officer so that his union could use the services of the National Labor Relations Board under the Taft-Hartley Law.

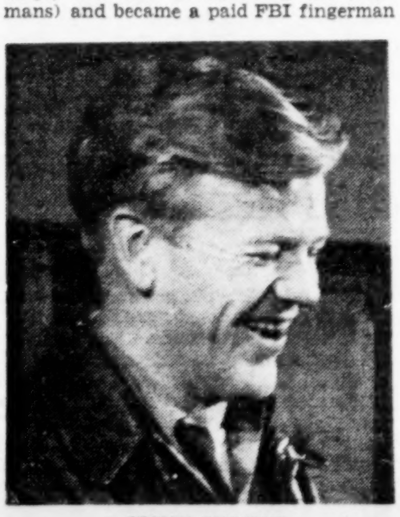
Three years ago, when the Woodworkers went on strike against the Northwest lumber operators, Fisher was arrested on his way to the Everett picket line and charged with swearing falsely to a Taft-Hartley affidavit denying membership in, affiliation with, support of or belief in the U.S. Communist Party. He was tried on testimony of three paid government witnesses, convicted and sentenced to five years in jail. He appealed to the Court of Appeals, which reversed his conviction.

Al Fisher won a well-earned victory: he had signed the affidavit "with a clear conscience" and had good reason to suspect that his arrest was an all-too-familiar strike-breaking maneuver by the Dept. of Justice. Practically, however, what Fisher had won was the right to another expensive trial on the same charges, scheduled to start this month. Contributions are sought by the Committee to Defend A. A. Fisher, P.O. Box 164, Pinehurst, Wash.

THE HUPMAN CASE: What was worked on Al Fisher was worked successfully by the government in its first Taft-Hartley affidavit case in 1952, against Melvin "Red" Hupman of Dayton, O. Red Hupman was a Dayton high school football hero who quit college after one year at Dayton U. to go to work for General Motors Frigidaire some 25 years ago. He helped organize Local 801 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers but never held office except as a departmental committeeman or shop steward. In 1949, along with other shop stewards, he signed a T-H affidavit, although there was no requirement for union functionaries of that level to do so. Later UE Local 801 went over to IUE-CIO.

During 1952 considerable protest developed among the 20,000 Frigidaire workers against speedup and the company's demand for a five-year contract. Workers suspected of leading the protest were called to the personnel office and questioned by FBI agents in the presence of company officials. Then, one day, U.S. marshals entered the plant, arrested Hupman on the T-H charge and led him off in handcuffs.

PAROLE IS SOUGHT: A Dayton jury refused to convict him, five jurymen holding out 17 hours for acquittal. The government moved the case to Cincinnati, got a jury conviction in 37 minutes. Hupman was convicted on the paid testimony of a friend and shopmate who had got deeply into debt (even owing the Hupmans) and became a paid FBI fingerman at so much per name.



CLINT JENCKS
Convicted by a liar's testimony

Hupman's conviction was affirmed on appeal, he was denied a Supreme Court review and went into Lewisburg Federal Prison in June, 1955. (A Dayton Committee for American Rights, P.O. Box 187, Dayton, is seeking a parole for Hupman and funds for the appeal of Walter Lohman, a second Frigidaire T-H victim.)

Fisher, Hupman and Lohman are typical "rank and file" Taft-Hartley cases. A statute of limitations originally of three years on T-H prosecutions was lengthened in 1955 to five years. This permits the government to proceed against signers of T-H affidavits in most cases long after they have left union office. As a matter of procedure, most T-H arrests have been either within days of expiration of the statute of limitations or at times when the arrest might have adverse effects on labor, civil rights, liberties and political activity.

MARIE HAUG
Blacklisted in the plants

A NEW STRATEGY: An estimated 250,000 individuals have signed T-H affidavits within the last five years. The way the law has been interpreted (despite a Supreme Court dictum at the start that objective standards of proof must apply in T-H criminal prosecution) any of these 250,000 could be brought to trial under the law and convicted on paid testimony at any time within five years of having signed an affidavit.

Recent government moves have indicated new strategies designed to rope in others who have never signed T-H affidavits, in proceedings charging them with conspiracy to defraud the government in conjunction with others alleged to have signed affidavits fraudulently. Additionally, the conspiracy arrests permit under federal law the admission of testimony which would be barred in straight criminal cases, thus virtually assuring convictions.

The "headline" T-H cases have been those of Ben Gold, president of the International Fur & Leather Workers (since merged with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, AFL-CIO); Hugh Bryson, ex-head of the Marine Cooks and Stewards; and Clinton Jencks, a Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers organizer whose case came to prominence because he was convicted on the later-recanted testimony of Harvey Matusow.

REVERSAL FOR GOLD: The Bryson and Jencks cases are headed for the Supreme Court. On Jan. 28 the Supreme Court reversed Gold's conviction in a 6-3 decision on an issue which, in the opinion of Justice Clark, deliberately side-stepped the basic issues arising from application of the T-H law.

Gold was convicted on the ground that his announced resignation from the Communist Party in 1950 in order to sign the T-H non-Communist affidavit was a subterfuge. He was defended by the late Vito Marcantonio and the case was moved toward the Supreme Court by Marcantonio and N.Y. attorney Harold Cammer.

The Court reversed the Gold conviction Jan. 28 because FBI agents had visited members of the Gold jury while the trial was in process. The FBI men said they were investigating the possibility of jury tampering after a member of the District of Columbia Federal jury panel said she had received a mailed copy of a newspaper ad in behalf of Hugh Bryson's T-H defense. The Court majority held that the FBI's visits themselves constituted tampering, as "official intrusion into the privacy of the jury."

THE DENVER CASE: The effect of the Gold decision may be to slow up Dept. of Justice interference with jury panels but the Department has been broadening rather than narrowing the scope of its T-H prosecutions.

Last November, 14 past and present officers and functionaries of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers union were arrested on charges of conspiracy to "defraud the government" in signing T-H affidavits. Four Communist Party officials were named with them as co-conspirators but not as defendants. This case is now before the Federal district court in Denver with Telford Taylor, chief prosecutor at the Nuremburg war crimes trials, as defense counsel.

In January, in Cleveland, a new wrinkle was added in the "conspiracy" attack. Eight individuals, only two of whom had signed T-H affidavits, were indicted on conspiracy charges. Named with them as co-conspirators but not as defendants, were seven national leaders of the Communist Party. It was the government's first attempt to include non-union personnel as defendants in alleged fraudulent signing.

THE HAUG CASE: Best known of the Cleveland defendants is Marie Reed Haug, a national committeewoman of the Progressive Party and a frequent and effective candidate in Cleveland municipal elections. Mrs. Haug and her husband Fred had been indicted earlier in January, just on the edge of expiration of the statute of limitations: Haug on two counts of perjury in an affidavit signed in 1952; his wife on four counts in affidavits signed in 1952-53.

Haug, one of the first organizers of the CIO in the '30's under John L. Lewis, was a UE staff member from 1936-50 and then became a lathe operator under jurisdiction of a Mine, Mill local. He signed his '52 affidavit as president of his Mine, Mill local. Later that year the United Auto Workers successfully raided the Mine-Mill local; Haug was fired from his plant job and has been blacklisted since.

Mrs. Haug signed her 1952-53 affidavits as business agent of UE Local 735 in Cleveland. In 1956 this Local affiliated with the International Assn. of Machinists (AFL-CIO). Mrs. Haug was ousted from her job as of Jan. 1, 1957, and has been working temporarily for the local on a fee basis as an adviser.

NO GENUINE EVIDENCE: The double perjury counts in each of the Haug indictments refer to the terms "'membership" and "affiliation" in the T-H affidavit. Most indictments have charged perjury on these two counts; none has yet alleged perjury on the two other terms "support" and "belief." In no proceeding thus far has there been genuine evidence proving Communist Party membership at the time of signing a T-H affidavit. Bryson was acquitted on the membership count, convicted for "affiliation" in a broad interpretation which is challenged in his appeal.

The Cleveland conspiracy indictment includes with the Haugs six other Ohioans, none accused of filing false T-H affidavits but rather with acting as go-betweens with the Haugs and on behalf of the Communist Party.

The others are James West, Edward J. Chaka, Andrew Remes, Hyman Lumer, Sam Reed and Eric Reinthaler. The CP leaders named as fellow conspirators are Gus Hall (now in prison), John Williamson (deported to England), Steve Nelson, Sidney Stein, Martin Chancey, Frank Hashmall, Joe Brandt and Anthony Krchmarek. All have been defendants under the Smith Act.

TELFORD TAYLOR
Counsel for Mine-Mill leaders

THE CHARGES: The indictment does not involve the Communist leaders in any of the alleged overt acts, which charge Mrs. Haug with false affidavits for 1950-51-52-53, Mr. Haug with filing a false affidavit in January, 1952, and a month thereafter receiving a Communist Party directive. Lumer and Remes are charged with issuing CP instructions for the Haugs; Reinthaler for transporting "a person known to him to be a member of the Communist Party USA" to a meeting with Lumer; West, issuing a CP directive; Chaka, carrying out a CP directive; Reed, attending a CP meeting.

A committee is in formation for defense of the Cleveland eight. Meanwhile contributions may be sent c/o the Haugs, 14720 Milverton Road, Cleveland. Their defense counsel include former Cong. Stephen M. Young of Ohio and David Scribner of New York.

BATISTA'S BLOODBATH

Torture of priest in Cuba described

IN A TELEPHONE interview from a Quebec monastery where he has found sanctuary, Father Ramon O'Faril told the New York Spanish-language daily **El Diario de Nueva York** of four days of torture by Cuban police. Father O'Faril was arrested at six o'clock one morning last summer as he left his parish house in Havana.

He said he was taken to police headquarters and subjected to a grilling that fractured three ribs and punctured his left ear drum so that he is now deaf in that ear. Canadian specialists have been called in to attend a wound in his left side, he said, which continues to "pain terribly."

He was not only beaten but starved and kept from sleep, the priest said, in an effort to make him divulge the names and whereabouts of certain opponents of President Fulgencio Batista. These were followers of ex-President Carlos Prio Socarras and the student leader Fidel Castro, now fighting a guerrilla warfare in the eastern mountains of Cuba. To give information on the rebels to the police would have meant their certain death, Father O'Faril said. He himself was saved from death only by the intervention of Cardinal Manuel Arteaga who reportedly secured his release on condition that he leave Cuba at once.

Father O'Faril, in a message to Cuban exiles in the U.S., called for unity of all factions to overthrow the dictator who, he said, "represents barbarism and oppression in Cuba."

The opposition springs from students, striking sugar workers and unionists but is divided among warring anti-Batista factions and Communists. Cuba has been under strict censorship and martial law since the "bloody Christmas" lynching of 26 oppositionists at the end of last year (GUARDIAN 2/18).

Un-Americans

(Continued from Page 1)

possible for me to challenge him in Court."

A MATTER OF CONSCIENCE: Miller in his appearance freely admitted that in 1947 he had attended several meetings of Communist writers, although not himself a Communist. But he told the probers that "my conscience will not permit me to use the name of another person and bring trouble to him."

In a statement on his indictment, Miller said:

"I answered fully all questions regarding myself and asked only that I not be forced to name other people whom I believe to be innocent of wrongdoing. I was advised by my counsel that the questions regarding the identity of the authors were not relevant to an investigation of passport abuses which was the subject matter of the investigation. I was further advised that a refusal to answer irrelevant questions is not punishable. I understand that this will be among the defenses which counsel will urge on my behalf in seeking a dismissal of the indictment."

Following the hearings, Miller was granted a limited passport to enable him to accompany his wife Marilyn Monroe on a trip to England last year. On Feb. 20 the London **News Chronicle** commented on his indictment:

"This refusal to turn informer has been a principle since the earliest days of persecution. In religion, politics and war, tens of thousands have died rather than betray it. Without elevating Miller to the ranks of martyrdom, it is right to insist that the principle be preserved. Its denial is an affront to any liberal, democratic community."

THE WATKINS CASE: The Supreme Court case which may curb the powers of the Committee is that of John T. Watkins, a former organizer for the United Auto Workers who denied before the Committee in 1954 that he was ever a Communist but admitted having worked with Communists. He refused to name them and was convicted of contempt. Watkins' attorney, Telford Taylor, argues in his Supreme Court brief that Congress explicitly limited the scope of the Committee and did not empower it to seek out past or present Communists:

ARTHUR MILLER

The questions were irrelevant

"The legislative history of the statute and resolutions establishing the Committee . . . clearly shows that the Congressional purpose, in harmony with the wording, was to look into the origin, contents and channels of distribution of propaganda. Nothing in the legislative history supports the extraordinatrily broad construction . . . that Congress has authorized the Committee to identify and 'expose' every present and former member of the Communist Party. A resolution . . . the language of which might have been susceptible to such interpretation was debated and rejected by the House of Representatives in 1937 shortly before Rep. Martin Dies introduced the much narrower resolution . . . adopted by the House in 1938, the language of which is identical with that of the statute under which the Committee presently operates."

AN 'UN-AMERICAN PRACTICE'

8 non-Communist observers condemn Dennis subpena after CP convention

EIGHT NON-COMMUNIST observers at the recent CP convention in New York last week strongly protested the action of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in summoning Eugene Dennis. In a joint statement the eight called it a "continuance . . . of the un-American practice of governmental inquisition into political opinions and activities." The group found the convention "democratically conducted" and said: "There were many indications that no individual or group was in a position to control the convention." They added that it was "not possible to take seriously" the idea that anything that happened at the convention threatened the nation's security.

The statement was signed by A. J. Muste, secy.-emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Alfred Hassler, also of the Fellowship; Dorothy Day, editor of the **Catholic Worker**; Ray Finch, chairman, and Bayard Rustin, exec. secy. of the War Resisters League; Lyle Tatum of the American Friends Service Committee; George Willoughby of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors; and Stringfellow Barr, lecturer.

TWO TESTIFY: Muste, strongly supported by Norman Thomas, had originally asked the CP to admit observers. The CP agreed and invited those suggested by Muste. Included in the group of observers but not among those who signed the statement were Carl Rachlin and Lester C. Migdal of the N.Y. Civil Liberties Union. Both had frequently come by the press room at the convention to brief reporters on details of the proceedings. The convention had barred newsmen from the meeting hall to protect the delegates from reprisals but made public all documents and conducted extensive briefings on the debate.

After the convention, Rachlin testified before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee that the CP was "fooling the public" and still constituted a threat. Arnold Beichman, who covered the convention for the **Christian Science Monitor**, also testified.

Muste said that neither Rachlin nor Migdal had been asked to subscribe to the group's report and that Rachlin's testimony before the subcommittee prompted the statement by the others.

SUSPEND JUDGMENT: The statement said that Roberts Rules of Order had been "scrupulously carried out," that floor discussion and balloting indicated the delegates were running the meeting. It cited the convention's refusal to follow "directives" sent by the French CP leader Jacques Duclos. But the group added that "in view of the many admissions of gross Communist errors in the past by the convention, it is specially valid . . . to suspend judgment as to the extent to which the Communist Party has achieved independence and moved toward democratic socialism, and to let the actual behavior of the Party and its members determine the verdict. We deplore the fact that the convention arrived at no clear condemnation of the military intervention in Hungary."

Nevertheless, the group said, "to suppose, as some apparently do, that the ferment in the Communist movement is merely an elaborate stage effect and that 'nothing is really happening' seems to us to fly in the face of the evidence."

LAWYER IS DEFIANT

Hallinan disbarred 3 years by Calif. Supreme Court

Other recent developments on the civil liberties front included these:

VINCENT HALLINAN, 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party and the attorney who defended Harry Bridges in the union leader's final vindication after 20 years of persecution, was ordered suspended from law practice for three years by the California State Supreme Court.

The ruling came on an appeal from a recommendation of suspension by the Board of Governors of the State Bar and was based on Hallinan's conviction in 1954 on a charge of income tax evasion, for which he served 15 months in prison. Hallinan had argued that he had already been "grievously punished" and that a three-year suspension would be "an almost insuperable obstacle" to the resumption of practice. Hallinan is 60 years old.

Vin and vigor

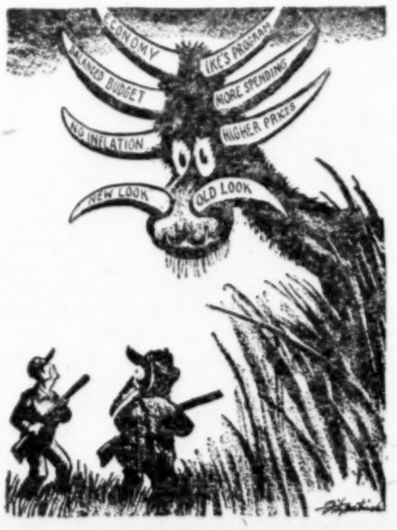
Vincent Hallinan, when he learned of his three-year suspension from the practice of law by the California State Supreme Court, had this to say:

"Naturally I'm disappointed. But I'll be around here for a hell of a long time, probably 30 years or more . . . I've suffered worse blows than this. I'll use up the three years trying to work out an amalgamation of left-wing and socialist forces in the United states. I'll probably do more good than defending people in criminal cases."

EASTLAND AND "IMMUNITY": The Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by James O. Eastland, became the first Congressional committee to seek "immunity" for four recalcitrant witnesses under the new Compulsory Testimony Act. Three of the four recently appeared before an Eastland subcommittee in Hawaii; the fourth is Harold Glasser, former Treasury Dept. economist named by Elizabeth Bentley as a member of a "spy ring."

The new law has been invoked twice by the Justice Dept. against two other former government employes also named by Bentley: William Ludwig Ullmann "purged" himself of a contempt charge by submitting to questioning; Edward J. Fitzgerald declined to answer under the Fifth Amendment and is now serving a six-month sentence in a Federal prison.

TEAMSTER CONTEMPT: The Senate cited four officials of the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters for contempt for refusing to answer questions before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on the ground that it was not authorized to conduct a probe of labor racketeering. No more than ten Senators were in the chamber when the citations were voted.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Sure is a genuine dilemma, isn't it?"

SLOCHOWER HEARING: In New York Dr. Harry Slochower, associate professor at Brooklyn College, was on trial by the Board of Higher Education on charges of unbecoming conduct. Dr. Slochower was dismissed in 1952 for refusing to answer questions before a Senate subcommittee but was ordered reinstated by the Supreme Court. He was suspended again on Jan. 21 under the new charges.

VINCENT HALLINAN

He'll he around a long time

MAZZEI IS OUT: In Pittsburgh the government struck from the records the testimony of professional informer Joseph Mazzei in four deportation cases. The government admitted that its witness is a "possible psychopathic case" and "has been found to have been an untrustworthy witness on several occasions." The four cases were continued indefinitely while the government seeks "to obtain and prepare new evidence."

DENNIS SUBPENA: Eugene Dennis, former general secretary of the Communist Party, was subpenaed by the Eastland subcommittee for detailed questioning about the recent CP convention. CP spokesmen called it an attack on free speech and assembly and said that subpenaing Dennis "for information on the most publicized convention in Communist history is as ridiculous as it is vicious."

NEW ORLEANS HEARING: The House Committee on Un-American Activities held two days of hearings in New Orleans during which two witnesses for the government named 37 persons as past or present Communists. Lee Brown, vice-president of the New Orleans local of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, was ejected from the hearing room and threatened with a contempt citation.

The committee also heard customs and post office employes from New York and Washington testify that a "flood" of Communist propaganda from abroad enters this counry through the Port of New Orleans. One employe said that such propaganda examined there was dictated by "Russian rule."

Sermons in eggs

A farmer went broke and started an egg route, buying eggs at 30c a dozen and selling them to a wholesaler at 25c.

"But you can't make anything that way," a friend protested.

"I know," said the farmer, "but it's better than farming."

MOLLET'S WASHINGTON VISIT

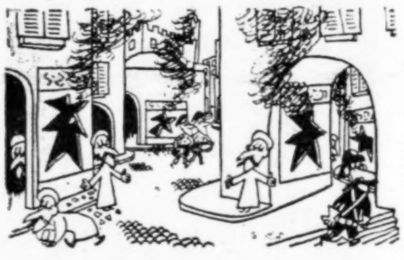
What was U. S. price for support on Algeria?

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

"A SUCCESS that is not a victory." This opinion by a Radical Socialist deputy just about sums up the majority press and parliamentary reaction here to the UN vote on Algeria. Satisfaction that France has avoided outright condemnation before the international forum is mitigated by the realization of what the UN vote implies for the future.

Most editorials admit that while the vote has not changed the military or political situation inside Algeria, it has given the UN a right to look in on it. Most deputies see in the vote a last quarter-hour granted to France to make peace in Algeria—and make peace fast. Foreign Minister Pineau himself explained that France has "taken an international commitment before her friends" to put the government's Jan. 9 declaration of intentions on Algeria into practice. (That the Algerian peace settlement, according to the UN vote, should be based on that declaration, leaves the progressive left unbelieving, the conservative right more fearful than ever there may really come a change in Algeria some day.)



—Canard Enchain, Paris

OPERATION CASBOMBARDMENT
"Terrorists?" "Police?"
"No, police!" "No, terrorists!"

Once again, the solution to the Algerian problem is being sought where it really is: in Paris. And in Paris, the game is being played against an uncertain background. The story of the Mollet letter—"government by correspondence," as one editorial called it—however much domestic political maneuvering goes into it, is an indication and a symptom.

TO ALL PARTIES: On Jan. 23, following his long and not very precise declaration of intentions on Algeria, Premier Mollet sent a letter to the leaders of all parties (Communists and Poujadists excepted) asking for their "formal agreement to the basic principles" of his declaration. This was to give the declaration a semblance of national unity.

Mollet's move seemed politically clever. If a House majority subscribed to the government statement on Algeria, it would accomplish two things: (1) opinion abroad would understand that this was as far as any French government would be willing to go; (2) all the consenting groups would be forced to share responsibility in Mollet's Algerian policy, past, present and future. Mollet's invitation was timed—a few days before the opening of the UN debate—so that it could not be turned down outright. But as the replies came in, it became clear that there was agreement on a few very general principles, but on none of the essential details.

"NATIONAL DANGER": The right-wing Independents, frightened by the government promise of free elections with equal representation for Arabs and Europeans, called the election plan a "national danger." Mendès-France, in a personal reply, said that "a declaration, no matter how numerous its subscribers may be, will not put an end to the Algerian drama," that only "a real change of our political action in Algeria" could save the situation.

Several deputies thought Mollet should have consulted them **before** he published his declaration. They felt a House discussion would have been the only democratic way to seek national unity on the issue. They realized Mollet was forcing their hand, and they didn't like it.

FREEDOM FLOUNDERS: A year in power had already crowded the government's civil liberties record with items such as: (1) arrest and imprisonment of university professors and journalists guilty of disagreement with the official view on Algeria; (2) seizure of newspapers with unorthodox opinions and an attempt to sink some of them financially, particularly **Le Monde**; (3) suspension of the parliamentary journalists' weekly radio round table. In such an atmosphere Mollet's letter was regarded as a dangerous new anti-democratic precedent. The point was vigorously made by Maurice Duverger in **Express:**

"After the citizen's freedoms, the prerogatives of Parliament, in turn, are being attacked. The Prime Minister's letter is very clear: parliamentary expression of any sort of opposition . . . is considered by him as dangerous to the national interest because it plays into the hands of the enemy. Such a reasoning . . . affects the very foundation of republican government."

SOCIALIST POSITION: The last chapter in the argument on the Mollet statement on Algeria was written just as the UN Algerian debate opened. The Socialist parliamentary group decided in a special meeting that the Mollet statement was "a whole from which no part could be deleted." This meant that (1) the Socialists would give their vote to any future government only if it stood by the terms of the Mollet declaration; (2) the right-wing groups in the House would have to go along with the Socialists on Algerian elections and equal representation for Arabs and Europeans, or vote against — and perhaps overthrow — the government.

The hardening of positions is not one-sided. On the right, criticism of Mollet's Algerian policy is more outspoken since the UN debate passed without serious trouble. A UN vote more unfavorable to France would perhaps have kept the government more intact.

The internal situation will come to a head this month. March brings some financial (Treasury difficulties, higher taxes) and economic (more strikes) deadlines. And, as **Le Monde** points out, the House more readily overthrows governments on internal economic issues than on a question of international politics. In March, too, an extraordinary congress of the "orthodox" Radical Socialists may set Mendès-France off on an active, positive political course once again. This month also the government must take its first important political initiatives in Algeria after the UN debate and succeed—or further aggravate the situation.

How and where?

The government proposal for elections in Algeria is so vague that no Algerian takes it seriously. Up to now Algeria's 1,200,000 Europeans and 8,000,000 Arabs each send 120 deputies to the Algerian Assembly. Mollet promised that Europeans and Arabs would vote in common in the future. How? For what Assembly? In what election districts? Anyone familiar with redistricting techniques knows how election districts can be gerrymandered to influence results.

CERTAIN "CONDITIONS": As the first questions are being asked about details of the UN debate, the U.S., much criticised on the right for its absence at the time of the Egyptian campaign, now becomes suspect for its sudden solidarity with France and presumably against the Arab world. Certain "conditions" offered by France in exchange for U.S. support are discreetly mentioned here and there. But the progressive weekly **Tribune des Nations** asks outright: "Is it true that in order to obtain U.S. support, Mollet had to interest [the Americans] directly in the maintenance of French positions in North Africa? Is it true that he has had to consider turning important shares in Sahara and South Algerian gas and mining concessions, whose contracts expire in May, 1957, over to American interests?"

It is against this moving political background that Mollet left for his Washington visit.

FRENCH PEOPLE SHOCKED BY NAZI IN NATO POST

Speidel: 'A great friend of France'

Special to the Guardian

PARIS

IT'S A SMALL THING when you compare it to the momentous develop- of these past months. But because it is significant of a present state of mind, and of the shape of political things to come (if nothing is done about it), it is worth reporting.

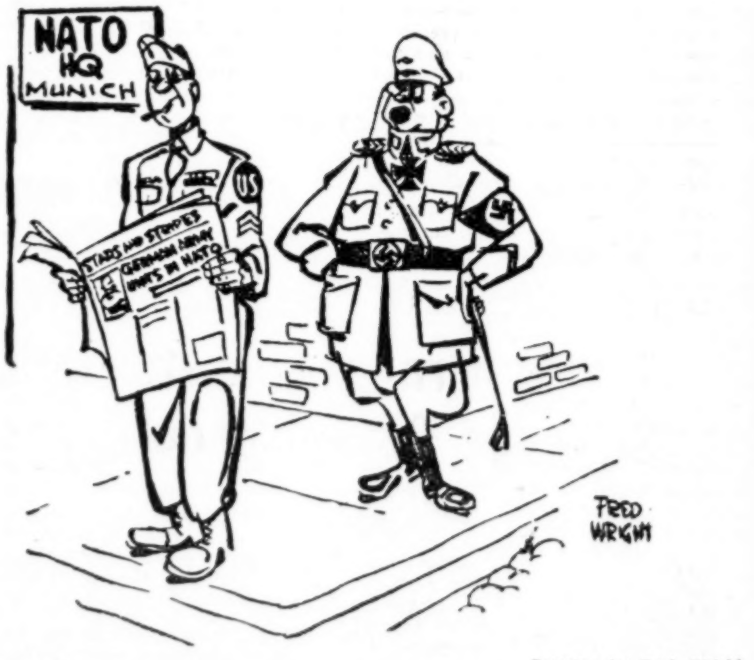
Earlier this winter, rumors had it that one of Hitler's generals would be named to an important NATO post. As the weeks went by, the rumors grew persistent. Late in January, it was officially announced that General Hans Speidel, whose last military job was as Hitler's General Staff officer, had been appointed commander-in-chief of NATO's Central European Sector Land Forces.

Tactfully as ever, Bonn declared that same week: "It is a fortunate thing for NATO to see that post occupied by a general having both Eastern and Western (front) experiences." In a chummy manner, a German newspaper said Speidel would feel right at home in France because he'd been there before for long stays.

SUCCESS STORY: Speidel's story—an uncommon military success story—shows him indeed in France repeatedly and at crucial times. In 1933, he was assistant military attachè at Hitler's Embassy in Paris. In 1935, he became chief of German counter-espionage, Western division. In June, 1940, in his suite at the Crillon, overlooking the Concorde, he drew up French armistice conditions. From June, 1940, to March, 1942, he was chief of the German Kommandantur in France. It was on his orders that, for 21 months, French resistance fighters were sent to their death Jews were deported, Communists tortured and killed.

A few reports signed by his hand, boasting of the shooting of hostages and ordering more, are in French Resistance files.

SILENCE IN PARIS: What shocked the French more still than Speidel's installation at Fontainebleau headquarters beginning April 1 were reports from both German and U.S. sources that the French government itself had asked for his nomination. The implication was so revolting that it seemed hard to believe at first. Questioned about the reports, the government remained officially silent for a time, while unofficial sources played the familiar tune of how Speidel, a "humanitarian," a 'philosopher," a "great friend of France," had only done his duty as a German soldier, and nothing more. The familiar tune was only the more nauseating because it was played to people who knew better and whose loved ones had paid with their lives because they could not dance to the tune in the Occupation.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"ACHTUNG! Don't you Americans know enough to salute an Allied officer?"
(This prophetic cartoon first appeared in the GUARDIAN on July 31, 1952)

A few days ago, the government answered at last. It was an embarrassed answer—hiding behind the Paris Treaty and NATO clauses—made hurriedly by the Minister of Defense before an icy House.

THE PROTEST: Throughout the country, meanwhile, protests from Resistance, deportees' and veterans' organizations were accumulating. Handwritten above the marble slabs, which in many Paris streets commemorate a fallen Resistance fighter, appears the inscription: "Here Speidel has killed . . ." A letter from 15 young men, orphans of Nazi atrocity, to the President of the Republic refused obedience to their future General if his name was Speidel. A petition from the few survivors of the martyred village of Oradour (all the parents of children burned alive in the village church by the Nazis) is like the roll call for tens of thousands of other dead whose memory is unforgotten.

Will unburying all those murdered in the Resistance undo the nomination of the General responsible for their deaths? At the present writing, there is no indication it will. France is tasting the first bitter fruit of European integration.

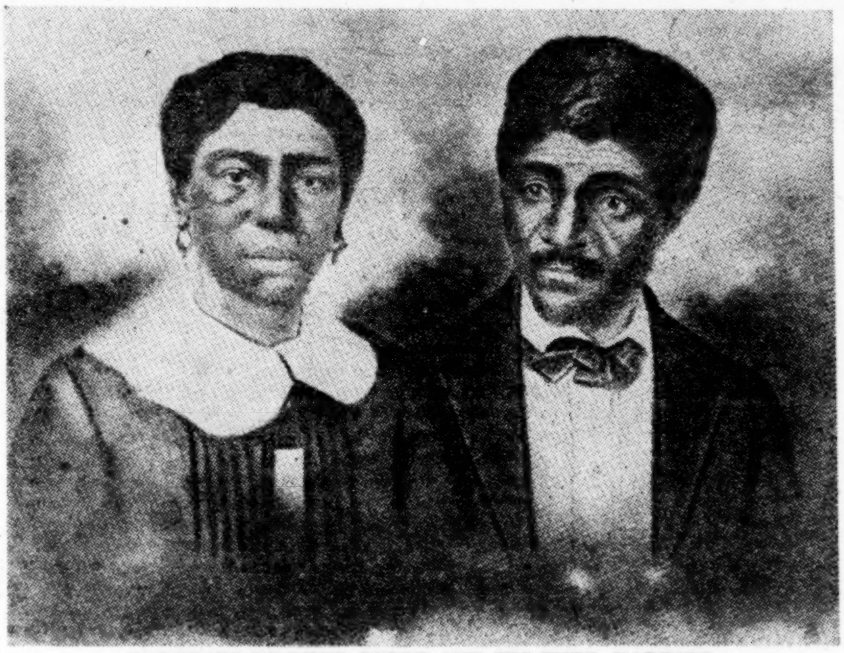
JUDGE TANEY COULD NOT BAIL OUT THE OCEAN

100 years after the Dred Scott decision

By Eugene Gordon

U.S. CHIEF JUSTICE Roger B. Taney early in the year 1857 wrote an opinion which shocked anti-slavery citizens into desperate activity. The first detailed newspaper account, based on unofficial texts of the case of "Dred Scott, (A Colored Man), vs. John F. A. Sanford," New Yorker, appeared March 5, 1857. Many persons feared the rising tide of slavery was about to inundate the country.

Virginia-born Dred Scott in 1834 was carried by U.S surgeon John Emerson from the slave state of Missouri into the free territories of Illinois and Minnesota and then back to slavery in Missouri. In 1838, as Sanford's property, Scott charged in a U.S. district court that he, his wife Harriet and his daughters Eliza, 11, and Lizzie, five, were being illegally held in servitude.



PORTRAIT OF DRED SCOTT AND HIS WIFE, HARRIET
The only remaining photographic memento of the famous slave

SLAVES AND HORSES: Chief Justice Taney, supported by Associate Justices Campbell, Castron, Daniel and Wayne, ruled that slaves belonged in the same general property category as horses and were so recognized by the U.S. Constitution. Therefore, this "property" could legally be carried wherever its owner desired. Associate Justices Curtis and McLean dissented: slaves were recognized as property only locally and by the laws of particular states, they maintained. Outside such states, the minority held, persons were neither property nor slaves—except in the case of "fugitives." (The fugitive slave law of 1850 made it the duty of Federal officers to capture all runaway slaves and to return them to their owners. The slave was denied jury trial; citizens who refused to aid officers were charged with treason.)

The Court majority insisted that Scott lost whatever claim to freedom he may have had when he was returned to Missouri. This opinion was based solely on a Missouri law just then interpreted by the state supreme court. Curtis and McLean dissented that the Scotts had been freed by their residence in Illinois and Minnesota and that the rules of international law respecting slave emancipation by residence had been violated by that state's decision in Scott's case.

TANEY SOCIOLOGY: The Chief Justice in his opinion wandered from the legal aspect into what members of the White Citizens Council today would call "sociology." (They condemn the Supreme Court anti-jimcrow public school decision of 1954 as unconstitutional because, they say, it is based on "sociology" rather than "law.") For instance, Taney said that Negroes had always been "regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which a white man was bound to respect; and that the Negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit."

W. O. Blake in "The History of Slavery and the Slave Trade, Ancient and Modern" (1861), writes: "It appears . . . that only the following points commanded a majority of voices and can be considered as having been ruled in this case:

"1. That Scott was a slave, notwithstanding his residence in Illinois and Minnesota. Seven judges to two.

"2. That the Missouri prohibition of 1820 was unconstitutional and void. Five judges against two; one silent, and one holding it void but not unconstitutional. [The "Missouri prohibtion" was the Missouri Compromise, an 1820 act of Congress admitting Missouri as a slave state, provided slavery was prohibited in every other state carved out of that part of the Louisiana Purchase north of Missouri's southern boundary.]

"3. That, under the Constitution of the United States, slaves are as much property as horses. Five judges, all slaveholders, against two non-slaveholders, the two other non-slaveholders being silent."

NEW YORK ALARMED: The **Century**, a N.Y. monthly, said in its Dec., 1882, issue that Taney's decision "shocked the humanity of the civilized world [and marked] in history the culmination of the slave power in America," while Taney, having outlived his epoch . . . was shunned and hated by men of the new time of storm and struggle for the principles of freedom and nationality."

A move by N.Y. State typified the thinking of people outside the South. It appointed a Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly "to consider and report what measures, if any, the Legislature . . . ought to adopt to protect the constitutional rights of her citizens against the serious and alarming doctrine of the Supreme Court . . in the decision of the case of Dred Scott."

A legislative resolution pledged that New York would "not allow slavery within her borders, in any form, or under any pretense, or for any time, however short, let the consequences be what they may." Ohio made it a prison offense for any person to attempt holding "another as a slave, directly or indirectly" or for any person "to seize or arrest or use any force or fraud for the purpose of detaining any other person upon pretense that such person is a fugitive from service . . ." Ohio also passed several resolutions condemning the Scott decision.

THE SILVER STAR: Abolitionists, Negro and white, referred bitterly to Taney's opinion, some anticipating years of fruitless struggle. Some, including Frederick Douglass, saw "brighter hope" than ever. He said: "The Supreme Court is not the only power in the world . . . Judge Taney cannot bail out the ocean, annihilate the firm old earth or pluck the silvery star from our Northern sky."

Douglass was a prophet. Through his newspaper **The North Star** and on the platform he helped secure "the firm old earth" that Dred Scott's descendants might walk shoulder to shoulder in equality with Roger B. Taney's.

The Scott family was bought from Sanford by Taylor Blow, Dred's original owner, shortly after the decision. Blow freed them. Scott died some 15 months later. Eliza never married; but some of Lizzie's grandchildren, great grandchildren and great-great grandchildren, according to **Ebony** magazine (4/54), still live in St. Louis "within a few miles of the courthouse at Broadway and Market streets where Scott first sued for freedom. Others are in Grand Rapids, Mich. Great grandson Dred Scott Madison is active in the Grand Rapids NAACP.

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673 DISTRICTS INTEGRATE PUPILS, BUT . . .

7 Southern states still defy Supreme Court school decision

THE STATES of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, N. Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia have not stopped trying to find a way around the Supreme Court anti-jimcrow schools decision of 1954. All the states have adopted pupil "placement" or "assignment" acts as a method of delaying or avoiding school desegregation. The Texas legislature is considering similar action.

The scheme is apparently to assign students to specific schools on the basis of factors other than race while, in reality, race is the determining factor. The cooked up factors are psychological effect on pupils of attendance at a particular school; geographical location of pupil's residence in relation to schools; space, teaching capacity, suitability of curriculum, etc.

COLLINS AND KLAN: Florida Gov Collins in his inaugural speech praised this type of legislation as preventing desegregation "in the foreseeable future," although he said integration was ultimately "inevitable." That statement prompted a Ku Kluxer, introduced as "Member No. 175,550 from somewhere in South Florida," at a Gainsville, Fla., get-together, to tell the Governor:

"We have said some pretty rough things about you, sir. If you help us preserve segregation in the schools, and if you are for freedom and all the Old South traditions, the people of Florida and the Ku Klux Klan are behind you 100 per cent. But to the law, school officials, our Governor, our legislators, Congress, and even the President of the United States, I say: If you are not for segregation, sovereignty, the flag, the state constitution, the bible, the republic, we are against you and will fight you. If it takes violence, we might have to resort to it."

673 DISTRICTS CHANGE: In Virginia U.S. District Court Judge Walter E. Hoffman denied motions to dismiss desegregation suits brought against the Norfolk and Newport News school boards. He ruled that Virginia's pupil placement plan "is unconstitutional on its face." A Federal court ruled similarly in January, 1956, regarding Louisiana's jimcrow school statutes.

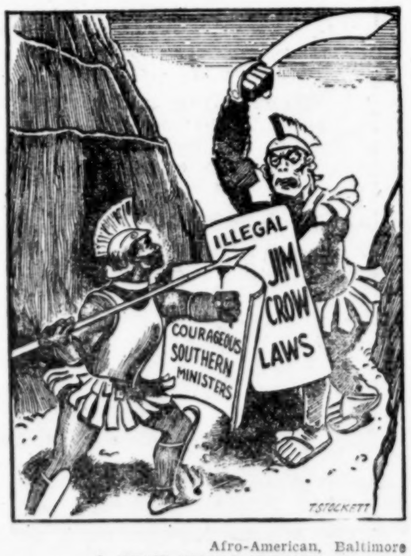
The number of Southern and border-state districts which have started or completed desegregation since 1954 last week totaled 673. The Kentucky districts of Clay and Sturgis announced desegregation plans. Nashville's plan for first-grade disegregation in 1957-58 was upheld by a Federal district court. The school board was ordered to present a more complete plan by Dec. 31, 1957.

Houston, largest U.S. jimcrow school district, indicated it would be ready by May 1 to announce "some method" of compliance. Eleven pro-segregation bills and an "interposition" resolution (to circumvent the 1954 decision) await Texas legislative action.

KEY COURT CASES: According to **Southern School News** (Feb.) other key court decisions involved:

- Memphis State U., where a five-year desegregation program was ruled invalid by a circuit court.
- Prince Edward County, Va., where a district court refused to set a time limit for previously court-ordered desegregation.
- The Autherine Lucy case, in which a Federal court upheld the right of Alabama U. officials to expel the former Negro coed, apparently foreclosing her attempts to enter the university but leaving the door open to other qualified Negroes.
- S. Carolina's ban on state employment of members of the NAACP—a case transferred from Federal to state courts.
- Louisiana's effort to remove Negroes from state colleges enjoined by Federal court orders.

THE POLLS: Southern School News cited polls showing that for the most part white college students seem willing to accept Negroes as classmates. A poll at Oklahoma A and M in the fall of 1954, following enrollment of four Negro students, showed 8% against any integration; 13% for "very little"; 43% favoring "some"; 34% approving of "much," and 2% undecided.



Afro-American, Baltimore

A WAR UNTO DEATH

Florida's Board of Control queried 60,000 students and parents of three state colleges. Student returns showed that 22% would accept Negro classmates immediately; 21% would oppose them under any circumstances; 14% wanted "a reasonable period of preparation."

Only 9% among parents favored immediate acceptance; 42% were unqualifiedly opposed; 24% thought there should be a period of preparation.

Texas U. students indicated that Negroes would be "generally accepted."

NEW FREEDOM SPURS OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Gold Coast becomes Ghana March 6

By Kumar Goshal

AFRICAN SCHOOL BOYS
In Ghana their future is independence

ON MARCH 6, the British West African colony of the Gold Coast will emerge as a dominion under the ancient name of Ghana. This event will have profound repercussions in Africa.

Although it will not be the first African colony to throw off its colonial yoke, Ghana will witness the first attempt to build a modern independent state out of an African colony where several ancient tribes with proud traditions, but speaking different languages, were thrown together by British conquest. The colonial African world south of the Sahara will be keenly watching how Ghana solves its social, political and economic problems, since they share these problems.

Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, who through his Convention People's Party has successfully led the Gold Coast to independence, won't have an easy time when his government takes full power:

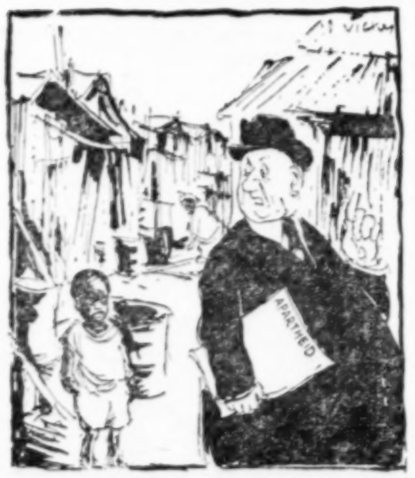
- He will have to reconcile the separatist tendencies on the part of some tribes, especially the Ashanti.

- He will have to tackle the economic problems arising from a colonial one-crop economy dependent on a world market manipulated from abroad. The price of cocoa, the Gold Coast's only export crop—on which its economy rests—has skidded from over $1,100 a ton to less than $500 in a little over a year; the Cocoa Board, which markets the product for the individual producer, needs at least $700 a ton to break even.

THE WITHDRAWALS: The rest of the world will be watching Ghana's birth and its progress as keenly as colonial Africa. Washington, eager to fill "vacuums," has set up a new Bureau of African Affairs.

Ghana's significance may be measured by Vice President Nixon's attendance at the March 6 ceremonies in Accra—after which he will scout the neighboring territories. Even the white-supremacist South African government is sending an official representative.

British withdrawal from Ghana is being touted as "an attractive advertisement for the British policy of converting colonies into free members of the Commonwealth" (**Christian Science Monitor,** 2/11). Africans, however, see it differently. They have noted that British withdrawal from India and Burma, for example, took place only after Britain had failed to stifle by force the united independence movements there, and had neither the economic nor military strength after World War II to hold onto them. Moreover, there were no European settler communities in India or Burma to furnish an excuse for continued military intervention.



Vicky in Africa South, Cape Town
"Don't you understand? We're doing this for your own good!"

In colonies that are strategically as well as economically important, where there are sizeable white settler communities or where the liberation movements are weak and unorganized, imperialist governments still maintain their power by ruse or force, using the most brutal methods when necessary. In such colonies as these the impact of Ghana's birth will undoubtedly be most strongly felt.

NIGERIA'S POSITION: Britain is still holding on to Nigeria. About four times the size of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Nigeria is the largest and most populous single colony remaining in the Empire. It is a typical example of British colonial conquest without regard for ethnographic or economic realities.

Well-developed tribes were corraled together within Nigeria, enabling the British rulers to encourage tribal jealousies and to set up three regional administrative units when demands for freedom became more articulate.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, newspaper publisher and banker, and head of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (the Trust Territory of British Cameroons is administered as part of Nigeria) has emerged as the most prominent Nigerian political leader.

ELECTION MARCH 16: He recently resigned as Prime Minister of Eastern Nigeria when he was accused of diverting government funds to his own bank. A tribunal appointed by the British Colonial Secretary reported after an investigation that while Dr. Azikiwe's "primary motive was to make available an indigenous bank with the object of liberalising credit for the people," he must also have been "attracted by the financial power the bank gave him."

Dr. Azikiwe denied any improper behavior, charged that the Colonial Secretary intervened to protect the British banking monopoly and prevent progress "towards political as well as economic freedom . . ." It was expected that the bank would be nationalized as the State Bank of Eastern Nigeria.

A new election in Eastern Nigeria, scheduled for March 16, will undoubtedly return Dr. Azikiwe to power. A spring conference in London will discuss future self-government for Nigeria which, in the light of Ghana, can hardly be delayed much longer.

CASE OF KENYA: The British government's behavior in Kenya furnishes an extreme example of how Africans fare in a colony with a white settler population. Here the Mau Mau rebellion—involving mainly the Kikuyu tribe—seems to have been crushed, but a new rebellion is reported to be stirring among the Luo tribe. "Emergency regulations" still rule the land; the government admits holding 30,826 Africans in concentration camps without trial.

Labour MP's in London are demanding an investigation of the wretched conditions in the camps as exposed by former government rehabilitation officer Eileen Fletcher. London has barred the International Red Cross from sending a team to the camps. The Kenyans' minimum demand is for universal suffrage—"one man one vote"—which will doom settler privilege.

TANGANYIKA: In the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, the British government has tried to pacify the African National Union by the ruse of "constitutional parity" and equal allocation of educational funds. Under this plan 25,000 Europeans, 70,000 Asians and 8,000,000 Africans get the same representation and funds.

At the UN Trusteeship Council last month, ANU president Julius Nyerere bitterly criticised this gross injustice. He demanded immediate establishment of a common electoral roll based on universal adult franchise and a clear declaration by Britain on self-government for Tanganyika at a definite date.

THE RHODESIAS: The Central African Federation (Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland), larger than California, Texas and New York combined, seems to be developing into another South Africa with all its conflicts. Within the federation live 6,810,000 Africans, 234,000 Europeans and 28,000 Asians. White settlers in the federation are demanding dominion status, unanimously opposed by the Africans and Asians who have extremely limited franchise.

Rhodesian Africans and Asians have been demanding full self-government for their territories with equality for all. Nyasaland seems to prefer federating with predominantly African Uganda and Tanganyika. The temper of the white settlers is measured by the statement recently made in London by Sir Arthur Benson, Governor of Northern Rhodesia: "We cannot in any circumstances permit a system of franchise which will leave white brains at the mercy of black-born."

THE COPPER TRUST: With the American Metal Co. largely controlling the Rhodesian copper mines, the U.S. has had a considerable interest in the future of the Central African Federation. U.S. investment sources regard the federation as one of the 10 most fertile fields for investments for Americans (Washington **Post,** 2/3). The federation government has been trying to promote large-scale white immigration.

Recently Sir Ronald Prain of the Rhodesian copper trust made a publicity tour of the U.S. Even as he was boosting the merits of his territory, Harry Nkumbula, president of the copper belt's African National Congress, was announcing a three-month "campaign of non-violence" in the Gandhi manner for securing justice for the Africans.

CONGOLESE MOVEMENT: Among all the Africans south of the Sahara, there is now a new feeling of pride in being an African, a dissolution of the myth of white superiority, a new confidence in being able to unite despite differences promoted and nursed by alien rulers—as Ghana has done—and a refusal to be "assimilated" and Europeanized in the manner advocated by the French, the Belgians and the Portuguese. Even in the uranium-rich Belgian Congo, where the government has most industriously fostered the growth of an "assimilated" African elite to lean on in case of an emergency, Africans are making a strong effort to forge a National Congolese Movement free of racial bias and of Belgian political control.

According to the London **Times** (12/5/56), manifestos to promote the movement are being circulated regularly by groups in such cities as Leopoldville, who are in constant touch with Africans in other parts of the Congo. "A particular feature of this Congolese nationalism," the **Times,** said, "is the emphasis on African personality and the desire to get away from total assimilation with western civilization." Although the pace and force of these developments cannot be predicted at the moment, the **Times** felt the growth of industrialization and the spread of education "seem calculated to make their augmentation inevitable."

In elucidating the Eisenhower Middle East doctrine, U.S. Secy. of State Dulles sweepingly included Kenya, Tanganyika and even the Belgian Congo within the doctrine's orbit. It is to be hoped that Vice President Nixon will carefully examine the enormity of the bite of Africa Washington hopes to take.

AN AFRICAN WORKER
He'll carry his own burden

Some have not forgotten

A "LIDICE SHALL LIVE COMMITTEE" headed by 16 Labour MP's and representatives of major British trade unions is arranging a pilgrimage in June to the rebuilt Czechoslovak village, to commemorate the 15th anniversary of its destruction and the massacre of its population by Nazi Germany. Theme of the pilgrimage, as stated by committee chairman Dr. Barnett Stross, MP, is that "the time has come to reject ignorance, hatred and war. Knowledge, tolerance and peace are the only sure foundations for our civilization in the age of Atomic and Hydrogen bombs. There is no alternative when faced with brutality and death, save to choose kindliness and life."

Pilgrims from many countries, including E. and W. Germany, will meet for commemorative services in the new Lidice's great rose garden which was initiated by the people of Britain. The committee (20 Pont St., London SW 1) invites applications to join the pilgrimage which will spend a week in Czechoslovakia, and donations to help others to take part.

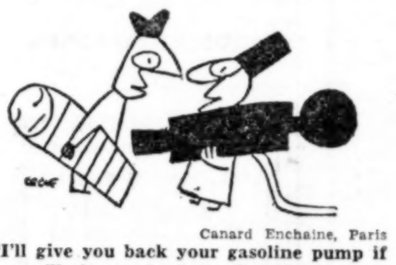
Headline diplomacy

(Continued from Page 1)

policy is based on the expectation that the full wrath of the imperialist powers will soon fall heavily on Egypt since Egypt has indicated it will not permit reopening of the Suez Canal while Israeli soldiers remain on Egyptian soil. U.S. pressure has forced repeated postponement of Assembly consideration of the demand of the Arab states for sanctions. When the debate finally opened, Feb. 22, the sanctions resolution was presented by Lebanon's strongly pro-American foreign minister Charles Malik, who was recently involved in the U.S.-Saudi Arabian talks in Washington. It was said in UN corridors that Malik was fronting for the U.S. (thus appeasing the Arab states), while the U.S. in fact remained uncommitted.

TRUSTEESHIP FOR GAZA: Few expected U.S. support for sanctions. The evidence suggested rather that strong pressure was being applied to Egypt. UN Secy. General Hammarskjold told the Assembly he could state with confidence that Egypt wanted the take-over of Gaza from the military and civilian control of Israel, which in the first instance would be exclusively by UNEF [UN Emergency Force], to be orderly and safe; and that Egypt "recognizing the present special problems and complexities of the Gaza area and the longstanding major responsibility of the UN there for assistance of the Arab refugees, and having in mind also the objectives and obligations of the Armistice Agreement, has the willingness and readiness to make special and helpful arrangements with the UN and some of its auxiliary bodies, such as UNRWA [UN Relief and Works Agency] and UNEF."

This, said Hammarskjold, would insure deployment of UNEF on the armistice line between the armed forces of Israel and Egypt, and the use of UN agencies "to put an end to all incursions and raids across the border from either side." This statement was widely interpreted as signifying Egyptian agreement to a joint UN-Egyptian trusteeship for an indefinite period over the Gaza Strip. A later Egyptian statement which maintained Egypt's (and the UN's) position for unconditional withdrawal did not constitute a denial.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"I'll give you back your gasoline pump if you'll give me back my Grandma . . ."

FOR WHOM THE TOLLS? Stepped-up pressure was being applied on Egypt regarding the Suez Canal. Having enforced virtual economic sanctions against Egypt since nationalization (when it froze Egyptian assets here and halted all economic aid), the U.S. now joined Britain, France and Norway in presenting an "interim plan" for the Canal's operation. This would require payment of tolls to the World Bank which would retain half, pending final settlement, and give half to Egypt. This represented an important U.S. shift against Egypt since, before the invasion, it permitted its shippers to pay tolls to Egypt if they wished.

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD

There was great activity

The Western strategy, the **Christian Science Monitor** explained (2/20), was to use the blocked tolls "as bargaining power for future dealing with Egypt," regarding both the Canal and the bill for war damages Egypt is preparing. Cairo's **Egyptian Gazette** commented: "What is being sought now is not even internationalization of the Canal but replacing of Anglo-French control, which is not longer feasible, by that of a group of nations of the Western bloc."

These moves at the UN were paralleled by others outside it to isolate and split the neutralist Arab nations. The President's Special Middle East Ambassador James Richards, who will survey the field for disbursement of U.S. millions under the Eisenhower Doctrine, has pointedly omitted Syria and Egypt from his tentative itinerary. Vice President Nixon will include in his "African good will tour" visits to Morocco, Tunis, Libya, the Sudan, Ethiopia—all countries which the U.S. is currently trying to force into a new pro-West alignment under U.S. domination.

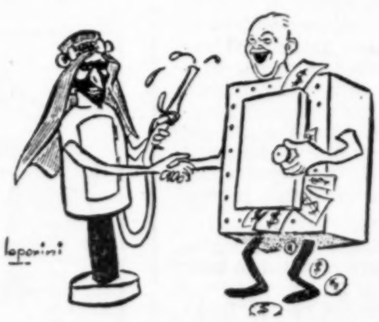
U.S. MOVES IN AFRICA: Ethiopia, already in the U.S. sphere, and the Sudan, whose government since Suez appears to be turning from Britain to the U.S., have both demanded aid under the Eisenhower Doctrine. (The Sudanese are strongly anti-imperialist and pro-Egyptian and the government will be challenged in national elections later this year by the anti-imperialist National Unity party.) Into Morocco and Tunis, whose ties with France are being progressively weakened by its continued war in Algeria, the U.S. is moving with aid and trade programs designed to open up exploitation of their natural resources. U.S. interest is especially great in Morocco where it has key air bases.

Conferences have been held in Spain among Spanish and Libyan officials, King Saud of Arabia, the Sultan of Morocco and his foreign minister Balafrej. According to Balafrej, who conferred in Washington with Secy. Dulles and Under Sec. Hoover last November, the talks dealt with Moroccan proposals for a non-military Mediterranean Pact. Spanish sources interpreted these—and later meetings in Morocco which involved the Crown Prince of Iraq as well—as designed to "wrest leadership of the Arab world from Egypt's Nasser" (**AP 2/13**). A military alliance between Morocco and Iraq was reported in the making.

Spain's own ambitions in the Arab world as well as its need for U.S. dollars are involved in these maneuverings. Its intense cultivation of Arab leaders was regarded (**Times, 2/16**) as a "form of subtle diplomatic pressure on the U.S.", from which it has asked an extra $30 million in aid for 1956-57 and another $130 million for 1957-58. The dollars are needed to try to extricate Franco from what the London **Economist** (2/16) called "the major economic and political crisis now building up" in Spain. Spain's economy is deteriorating. Franco "has been losing popularity. Opposition has been gaining in right wing quarters. . ." This crisis, which was reflected in last week's ouster of the Spanish cabinet, may, according to the **Economist,** force Washington before long "to an agonizing reappraisal of its Spanish policy."

DOLLARS VS. NASSER: U.S. dollars are a powerful weapon in the desperately poor countries of the Middle East and Africa, since they need capital investment for development. Proffered aid is tempting even if the record shows that dollar aid is directed to exploiting natural resources rather than to industrial development. Furthermore, as **Business Week** pointed out (2/2), a portion of U.S. aid inevitably goes to buy the support of foreign government officials. This widespread practise was documented by Sen. Ellender (D-La.) in his recent report on the U.S. foreign aid program (**Congressional Record,** 2/7). In South Viet Nam, for example, Ellender found that U.S. aid is "being used to fill the coffers of the Vietnamese government." A recent Congressional report on U.S. aid in Iran tells a similar story. It also shows that following the overthrow of Mossadegh in 1953 (by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency as the **Saturday Evening Post** reported in a series of articles in fall of 1954) $1.7 million of U.S. foreign aid funds were used to pay "bonuses" to the Iranian police and army.

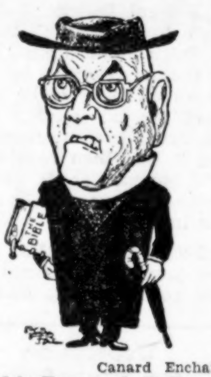
The Eisenhower Doctrine is moving into gear amid a barrage of propaganda reports predicting Nasser's imminent downfall. Whether this goal, being sought by all possible means, can be achieved is questionable. The meeting in Cairo last week of Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia was expected to show to what extent, if any, the U.S. effort (as the **Times,** 2/10, put it) "to secure Nasser's cooperation in the solution of Middle East political problems or to start him on the road to political ruin" had succeeded.



Avanti, Rome

The Eisenhower-Saud meeting.

STRAINED ALLIES: If U.S. dollars are a powerful weapon in the U.S. campaign to align the Afro-Asian nations in its camp, the policy also involves complex problems. Among these is the strain it imposes on U.S. relations with its western allies, whom it is ousting from these areas. Growing French and British political and economic weakness following Suez has tended to make these allies more dependent on the U.S. But at the same time British and French capitalists are trying to stake out a preserve of their own, insulated from American inroads and a possible American slump. This is the meaning of the "common market" for Little Europe promoted by France and the larger "free trade area" which Britain hopes to link with it. The idea is to knock down trade barriers between the countries involved and erect uniform tariff walls around the common market against outsiders. A basic weakness of both plans is the perpetuation of the East-West division of Europe. All-European economic cooperation would be more likely to promote economic development.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

Oil right, Reverend Dulles . . .

Moreover, France's growing financial crisis, arising out of the fall in its reserves which may force it to impose import curbs, threatens the plan before it is even started. French Premier Mollet has denied that he came to Washington to seek dollar aid. In fact, though, his efforts in this direction have already been rebuffed by Washington. As the three Western allies moved to repair their alliance, its economic and political stability seemed far from assured.

Under Secretary for Hot Air

SENATE Republican leaders are putting [Under-Secy. of State] Herter through a virtual inquisition on a speech he made a year ago in Chicago. Crux of Herter's . . . bombshell is: "We should offer to coordinate our [economic] aid with whatever assistance the Soviet is willing to provide . . . We should . . . be willing to work out both with the Soviet and with the recipient country a program to which both the Soviet and ourselves can each contribute. We should approach the question of assistance solely in terms of the need of the country to be assisted and .. . . welcome contributions toward meeting those needs from whatever source."

GOP senators demanded an explanation from Herter [about his] year-old speech. "I was merely trying out a new idea in foreign policy," explained Herter. "That was just an idea to stir up discussion. I had no thought of putting it into practice then or now."

—**Robert S. Allen, N.Y. Post, 2/19.**

NEW YORK PLANS

New high schools for music & art

REPORTS that the N.Y. City Board of Education was planning to shut down the High School of Music and Art, a highly specialized and nationally recognized school founded under Mayor LaGuardia's administration, brought protests from parents and educators around the country.

Board of Education spokesmen last week told the GUARDIAN it was a misunderstanding. Actually the plan calls for a new school to be built at Second Av. and 57th St. which will house the art departments of the High School of Music and Art and that of the School of Industrial Arts, a vocational school. The music department of the school will merge with the School of Performing Arts in a new building in the Lincoln Sq. area.

Academic standards will remain the same, with the choice open to students to take their specialty as intensified vocational training or along with college-preparatory courses. The new School of Art is expected to be ready in about 18 months. Students will then be automatically transferred.

Mideast Doctrine debate March 8

THE Eisenhower Doctrine will be debated by U.S. State Dept. lecturer and former Fulbright scholar Robert Meagher and A. J. Muste, pacifist and secy. emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the first of a new lecture series sponsored by the Socialist Unity Forum, Friday evening, March 8, at New York's Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av.

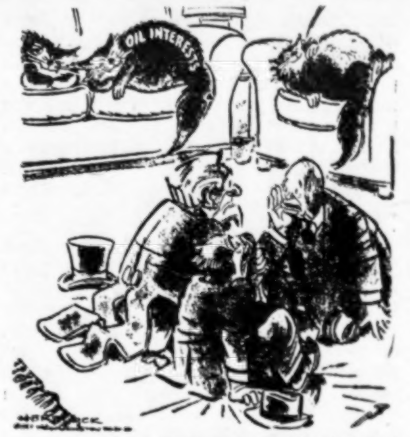
Other discussions scheduled by the Forum are on recent economic trends in the U.S., as a test of Marxist thinking, by economists Otto Nathan and Victor Perlo; and "Socialism, Science and America," an analysis of how scientific advances make socialism "necessary and inevitable" by Michael Baker, chemical engineer and former exec. secy. of the Minnesota Progressive Party.

'Spy' case

(Continued from Page 1)

Attorney's Office" and indicated they were keeping him under wraps.

Morros' identity was revealed at a hearing on defense motions by the Sobles' attorney George Wolf in the chambers of Federal District Judge Gregory F. Noonan in New York's Foley Square. One of Wolf's motions cited the law requiring the government to identify in advance all witnesses to be produced on any count possibly leading to a death sentence. Judge Noonan granted the motion and it was then that the government said Morros was the only one contemplated at present and the one referred to in the indictment.



Herblock in Washington Post
"They don't like to be disturbed."

DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE: Judge Noonan also granted a defense motion to direct the government to make available to the defense the documents and books, reportedly filling several cartons, taken from the Soble home at the time of their arrest. Also returned was the Soble bank book.

The judge denied a motion to reveal to the defense all statements made by Morros to the FBI concerning the defendants. He reserved decision on a motion to dismiss four of the six counts in the indictment and on another calling for a bill of particulars that would include copies of the documents said to be transmitted by the defendants, the names and addresses of the alleged co-conspirators and the addresses of places where the data was said to have been handed over.

Depression

"Since one owns nothing in Russia, there is nothing to save for, and since everyone is assured of a job as well as compensation when ill and old-age retirement at almost full pay, spending whatever one has seems to be the rule.

"With this depressing order of life . . ."

Kiwanis Magazine, Dec., '56.

TRIAL DATE TO BE SET: Defense attorneys are to submit additional papers to Judge Noonan on these motions. A trial date is to be set on March 11. Jack Soble is still in Bellevue Hospital, undergoing psychiatric examinations. He collapsed in his cell in a Bronx city prison on Feb. 18. Last week Wolf told Judge Noonan that Soble was in a state of mental exhaustion.

The Federal Grand Jury that indicted the Sobles and Albam continued to sit amid forecasts of more spy scares to come. In Mexico City subpenas were served on former investment broker Alfred K. Stern and his wife, the former Martha Dodd, daughter of the late William E. Dodd, U.S. ambassador to Germany. The Sterns conferred with former Mayor William O'Dwyer who referred the case to his brother Paul O'Dwyer, an attorney in New York.

In moving to quash the subpenas attorney O'Dwyer said there was "no provision for the government to take people from far places for a fishing expedition." He called the subpenas "vague and indefinite" and said it was "utterly fantastic" to involve the Sterns in an espionage inquiry. A hearing on the motion to quash the subpenas was scheduled for March 7 in N.Y. Federal District Court.

Speidel — a French view

AT THE MOMENT when serious efforts are being made toward disarmament . . . his nomination takes on the character of a defiance, of a sort of re-declaration of the cold war. Is it not fantastic that men who thought Marshall Rokossowski's presence incompatible with Polish independence should be for the most part the same who applaud the nomination, to head the armies of the French Republic, of a German general who was the author of the armistice of 1940? The second aspect of the problem . . . is the psychological repercussion in Germany—for I am not of those who despair of the Germany of Luther, Goethe and Karl Marx. In the person of this general we are sanctifying German militarism, which has poisoned German civilization for two centuries . . ."

—Senator Jacques Debu-Bridel, founder-member of the French Natl. Council of Resistance.

PUBLICATIONS

Notes from
Liberty

Everyone of us has had the experience of having his outlook and often his whole life changed by the reading of a book. What is true of the individual is also, in this case, true of society. **Origin of Species, Capital, The Republic,** Euclid's **Books** are but a few of great books which have changed history. Their name is legion.

It is a privilege then to read a book of our own times which has had a germinal influence on a whole society. The mentor of the Chinese Revolution is Lu Hsun (1880-1935) whose works have just begun to appear in English in collected form. This great critic, essayist, and short-story writer is beloved by the entire Chinese people for his Gorky-like influence on their own revolution. Mao Tse-tung referred to him as the "Generalissimo of the cultural revolution." Trained as a classical scholar, he shook off the past and wrote not only about the lives of the people—but he wrote in the vernacular, **pai hua** (plain language), which he raised to the level of literature.

In an introduction to selections from his work, Feng Hsueh-feng, a contemporary critic, says, "Lu Hsun's sixteen volumes of essays and three collections of stories, prose poems, and reminiscences form an encyclopedia of Chinese society, the people's life and struggles, and the lessons drawn from these during the great historical periods from the beginning of the twentieth century to the thirties. They constitute above all a bold declaration of war against imperialism and feudalism, against all oppressors of the people, and all the dark, corrupt forces which would obstruct China's advance."

A chief characteristic of Lu Hsun's stories is the view one gets of the kind of people from whom he drew his strength. And this view is reflected also in another book manuscript which has come to our view recently, by an American couple, Allyn and Adele Rickett, telling of their own experiences during four years in a Chinese prison. The patience, forbearance, and the belief in the perfectability of people which Lu Hsun's stories reflect are also reflected in the account of the Ricketts who went through four years of Chinese penology with a host of other political prisoners who had worked against the people's revolution. The Ricketts experienced a humanistic penology in action, a kind of social psychiatry which is based on the theoretical assumption that to "know thyself" must be a social process. Critics of the Chinese Liberation call it "brain washing," but readers of the Ricketts' stirring tale may judge for themselves what this process actually is.

The Chinese Revolution is astonishingly revealed in both the works of Lu Hsun and the personal stories of the Ricketts. Here at Liberty Book Club we mean to make both books available in the near future. Our current offerings of perhaps special interest to **Guardian** readers are shown in a large advertisement in the Feb. 25 issue of the **Guardian.**

The Editors
Liberty Book Club

P.S. Any **Guardian** subscriber who would like to know more about Lu Hsun may write either Angus Cameron or Carl Marzani, Liberty Book Club, 100 West 23 Street, New York 11, N.Y., for our issue of the **Liberty Book Club News** describing the Lu Hsun book.

PUBLICATIONS

They don't want you to read it! WHY?

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CALENDAR

Chicago

Insure American participation in 6th **WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL** in Moscow July 28-Aug. 11. **First meeting**, Midwest Festival Committee, **Fri., March 8**, Hamilton Hotel, Parlor "A," 20 S. Dearborn, 8 p.m. Adm. 50c. Movies of 5th Festival.

"TRUE FRIENDS," hilarious Cannes prize-winning Soviet musical film about three bureaucrats floating down a river on a raft. Also new documentary. Film Forum at Chopin Club, 1547 N. Leavitt, Sun., Mar. 10, 3 p.m. Adm. 90c.

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San Francisco

MIKE GOLD LECTURES ON literary giants: Fri., March 8, 8 p.m. "Maxim Gorky"; Fri., March 15, 8 p.m. "Walt Whitman." 321 Divisadero St.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"MY UNIVERSITIES,"** March 2. The final part of the great Gorki trilogy, and a passionate paean to life. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"ANGEL AND SINNER"** (France).

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The Militant Labor Forum Presents:
THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE,
the U.S. drive for total domination
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Speaker: **VINCENT COPELAND**, staff writer, The Militant. Sun., March 3, 7:30 p.m. 116 University Place, near Union Square. **Note:** We are calling off our March 19th Forum to support the symposium scheduled by the Brooklyn Compass Club on Socialism and Civil Liberties. Speakers will be Farrell Dobbs, Simon Gerson, Tyrell Wilson. We urge all our friends to attend.

**SEAMEN CELEBRATE BIRTHDAY
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(Or we can figure it in shoes)—
I think you'll all agree:

I should get back at least four hams;
Instead he pays me TWO!
And that's the way Sam hogs the ham
He begs from me and you.

C.P.

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Vitamin B12	1 mcg.
Vitamin C	75 mg.
Niacinamide	40 mg.
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the SPECTATOR

'Whereof fail not . . .'

LONDON

THE MORNING MAIL contained two GUARDIAN renewals, a postcard from a Labour Lord, a gas bill, and two invitations: from an "Iron Curtain" embassy for cocktails, and from the Queen of England to "be and appear" at her Central Criminal Court—"whereof fail not, as you will answer the contrary at your peril."

From a mess of citizens' names stirred in her sheriff's top hat, your editor-in-exile had come up for jury duty at the Old Bailey; and I wondered if they knew I was only 18 months out of Mr. Brownell's hygienic musical jail on Manhattan's lower West Side. But down at the Old Bailey, beneath the lady with sword and scales standing ominously on the roof, nobody cared what I might want to subvert.

The ritual by which jurors were teamed up for duty was solemn but expeditious. A column of men wearing a variety of scarlet-and-fur robes and medieval hats, one carrying a mace and one appearing to be the Lord Mayor, slow-marched into the business end of the courtroom where the invitees were massed, and occupied the row of thrones. After a short incantation they paraded out again, leaving one of their number, pink and benevolent and bald, to preside over the picking of our names out of a big dispatch-box by an official in wig and gown. Team by team, the good men and true—with but a scattering of women, who rarely qualify as "ratepayers" [payers of local taxes]—were assembled in the jury box.

FEW WHO HAVE BEEN in jail could relish sitting in judgment on some poor fellow-wayfarer who, seeking a path through the labyrinth of The Law, has caught his foot in the web. A teen-age friend, when he heard about it, had said to me excitedly: "I hope it's a good murder—maybe you'll get Dr. Adams." I couldn't blame him for seeing it in terms of Agatha Christie, but I was glad that the man whose destiny lay in our hands was nothing more than a petty swindler. He was clearly guilty on four counts; but the lies he had told to achieve his modest depredations, and on which he earnestly expanded in court, were so ludicrous that in a rider to our verdict we recommended a psychiatrist. (The same seemed desirable for the witnesses who came on the stand to testify that they had believed him, but that was not within our orbit.) The judge, who each time he entered and left the court bowed gravely to us and his escort of men in peculiar robes and hats, ordered a medical examination and meanwhile suspended sentence.

In the conduct of the case by the wigged and gowned judge and barristers—and of other cases I heard fragmentarily while waiting for ours to get started—many things impressed me deeply. One judge, on an assault case arising from a brawl among Jamaicans who were hard to understand on the witness-stand, became somewhat testy; but by and large the display of patience and fairness from the Bench could hardly have been excelled. Juries were continually reminded that their business was not to decide whether the accused was guilty, but whether the prosecution has proved it. Summings-up were laboriously detailed.

Most impressive of all is the British rule against disclosure of the defendant's past record during the trial. Only after the jury has given its verdict is a police officer called to give this information—in our case, several previous convictions for similar offenses. The judge may take it into account in sentencing, but the jury may not consider it or take other circumstances extraneous to the present charges. Alongside of this, in long-established British practice, goes the sternly enforced prohibition of trial-by-newspaper.

LEAVING THE OLD BAILEY on the fifth day, clutching Her Majesty's fee of two pounds one and eightpence for my services, there were inevitable comparisons in my mind with what I had observed and experienced elsewhere. From an Old Bailey jury-box the abuses to which Americans have become so unfortunately accustomed seem like another world or another age. I thought of the many victims of these abuses with whom I had made friends in West St. jail. And of the Rosenbergs and Sobell, victims of the greatest injustices within my range of personal concern—and needed no further convincing of what has often been said, that no British court could possibly have convicted them.

I thought, too, of the system of criminal justice in the socialist countries: a very different system with its pre-trial examination and its panel of one professional with two "people's" (elected) judges, but one that seemed to be fairly and honestly administered insofar as I was able to observe it in the Soviet last year. That "insofar" is the rub, for the parallel system of justice for political offenders—which we know to have sent thousands of innocents to prison or death, although it has now been radically overhauled—has rarely been observable, and of these "show trials" the less said the better.

Those who believed that socialism was an automatic guarantee of justice have stopped believing it. British capitalist courts have contributed their share to the record of notorious injustice, and in the colonies discriminatory administration of the law will continue as long as they are colonial. But a glance around the world after five days at the Old Bailey suggests that the English are more than entitled to their pride in the system at its best.

DO WE LOOK FORWARD now to a world in which all societies and cultures will study each other and borrow the best that each has developed? There is no doubt about the outstanding contribution Britain has to make to that pattern for all our children's lives. Some countries will get along very well without the funny hats and other hangovers of medieval ritual. I am not so sure about the wigs and gowns: the business of weighing a man's right to freedom is a solemn one, and there may be worse ways of seeing that this is not forgotten.

—Cedric Belfrage